1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Boys are trained for the chase by precept and example, beginning in their ninth or tenth year; for success is far more dependent, in the native mind, on skill than on supernatural aid. Nevertheless charms are used and taboos heeded. Occasionally a calculus (*guwgidlá*, deer —), sometimes as large as 5 cm. in diameter, is found in the paunch of a deer. This, the only charm known, is carried to the hunt on a thong hung about the neck. It proves fairly effective for deer, but for deer alone (?). One specimen (50.2–1629) is roughly wound with a reddened buckskin strap. Its elderly owner attached so much value to its powers that he has even guarded it from the eyes of fellow tribesmen. (Sinyella, for instance, has seen it but once.) He has repeatedly refused to sell it, even to a Navaho shaman who offered a horse. When he surrendered it to me, he was visibly moved: "You are taking my heart." Sinyella has one, 2.5 cm. in diameter. 224 [868]

I always carry this in my pocket when hunting deer, antelope, or mountain sheep, in order that they stand looking at me unsuspecting while I approach. When I have this I can secure plenty of big bucks; I need many buckskins. If a man dreamed of seeing many deer, I would give it to him to carry on the hunt. I found this last winter, but I have not hunted much since. Perhaps other men have them, but I do not know. Not all deer have these in their paunches. I do not know how they are formed.

Luck is acquired in dreams (p. 332), for a man may obtain the success prefigured there, although there is no certainty. One who dreams of a successful hunt will try his luck; any success within a short time is ascribed to the promise of the dream. The causal sequence does not weigh greatly. Jess, for instance, has dreamed on occasion of fawns passing near him, whistling as they went. He followed the fresh tracks in his dream. Yet, when he failed to find such signs when he went hunting afterwards, he thought no more of it. 224 787

Prayers to the sun and a definite magical procedure, of which Sinyella gave the following account, are prescribed before the hunt commences. 224 782 539

Long ago Mountain Lion and Wolf were men. They went hunting for deer every day, but tried many days without finding any. So they thought, "We have not found any. I wonder why. I will think out how I can kill them." So they said something that they might find them easily. Then they said, "We two ordain this. A man should bear in mind what we have said, then when he is hunting, but finds no game, he may repeat it and forthwith attain success." Men know of this today. When a number of men are going to hunt, the big chief issues directions. "We are all going to hunt. One of you should go a long way, two or three miles, just before it is daylight. There you should gather some old deer droppings in a pile, and set them alight until they are entirely consumed. When the ashes are cool, we will all go there."

RELIGION

Religious matters occupy but a minor place in Havasupai life. 771
Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither extensive nor developed in systematic form. [796]

The paragraphs which follow express religious notions as they are known to a layman. It is regrettable that it was not possible to obtain the viewpoint of the shaman. Of the two living at the time of my visits, one died during the second winter; the other is quite deaf. [124]

Souls, Spirits and Shamanism

Each human has a soul in his heart; the word, *yuwaffv*, refers to both soul and heart. It leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or lies unconscious (*k'ědjĭmpik*, a little dead). More explicitly, when a man dreams that he is in a foreign land, he sees (or feels) his fleshly self as actor, not his soul. To be sure when he wakes he is lying where he fell asleep, he is fully aware that he has been dreaming, yet he offers no explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought himself in another place. 774

The soul of a dead man may appear as a ghost (*ămlyĕ*[1]); this is short and like a shadow. Shamans alone commonly see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits seek them out at night and report their doings, yet others may see them. When a ghost appears to a man it is a portent that a relative will soon die, or else it is to cause the man himself to sicken. Ghosts are said always to be malignant; a man who heard and saw one would sicken that very day and fail fast. People are afraid to go about alone at night, especially near the burial ground, which at any time is dangerous, for fear ghosts will frighten or seize them. Yet the following instances show mere sight or contact is not in itself harmful. 775 [787] [769]

Susie saw one near her camp one night. He looked like an ordinary mortal; he was bare-headed. He passed on down the canyon. In the morning, the whole family examined the spot but found no footprints.

Arthur saw a ghost in the brush at the head of the creek. He looked like a man, except that his head was much larger.

Pete also saw one. He met him near dawn in Lee Canyon. The ghost said that he wanted Pete to dismount and sit down to talk with him, so he did so. Pete nodded and fell into a doze. When it was nearly daylight, the ghost said, "It is light now; let us go," and he went ahead. When the ghost was twenty feet away, Pete thought he would keep up with him and talk, but the faster he whipped his horse, the more the ghost drew away from him. The ghost led him along a trail following a ledge that

[1] The word *hut-ĭjĭdĭd* was also given for ghost in an association test.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, there he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógà (man+to draw after) who draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvà (man+make alive again), who makes people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvà with Dudjípa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow are used; *wîtagoxâ"*, that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and *yâ'dsaf-yâ*, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).

I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit (*sdmd*")[2]. Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit traveling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

---

[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *gîsdmd* (doctor, medicine).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*ddjúdd*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live.

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of.

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*ahalnyakdtdldp*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it.

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógà and Pagiyóvà. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer.

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to illy-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child.

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gl0iyk'*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gl'adma*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans.

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both

[1] Compare Yavapai *pa-amacka*, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

756 791 776 cured, and Rock Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it lost his spirit—and his influence. Manakadja, the head chief, called in a [578] Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines (?) were broken and buried with him. Rock Jones inherited his powers from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power. [428] Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;[1] so far as it goes the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types 756 of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit 787 spirits to dream. Rock Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and 791 thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*gtéiyĕ*) have spirits; in one instance it 756 was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said 776 that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he [755] sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hatégut'ledmdg*) could be heard out in the darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a weather shaman.

756 [787] The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jess, many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit in his dreams but it was afraid as yet to enter his body. My informant stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success. In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 270).

[1] It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

them to us in his hand. He did this two nights. Then the boy said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. All the Havasupai were down there in the Basin; it was time to gather piñon nuts. The shaman sang for four nights; then he said, "The boy is getting better, I do not want you to stay down here; you might as well take him to wherever you think you want to stay. We will all go there with you and then I will go back home." So we moved to Rowe's Well Canyon again [near Grand Canyon Station]. The shaman again sang four nights and said, "I have taken out all the diseases he had; there are no more in him now. I will leave you now and return." When the shaman was ready to leave, I gave him a blanket and a buckskin. I felt glad because he had cured my boy. Some men had killed plenty of deer and they gave him meat because they were glad. He had too much for one horse, so we lent him another to carry it. So the boy got well. 755

He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white: it looked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs.

Whatever their opinion of the shamans they believe in the efficacy of their cures. Possibly we may suppose the shamans share the belief, for they are said to cure members of their families as well as themselves. At any rate the penalty for malpractice is death. Smiley's father, a Walapai shaman, was killed because he was held to have spitefully and magically caused an epidemic (p. 238). An unsuccessful shaman, particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a relative of a patient who died. 756

Weather shamans are about on a par with those who cure; possibly they are called *gïθiyĕ'* like them. They obtain power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms. One who dreamed this continually would sing of what he had dreamed, using a gourd rattle. After a long time he would feel that he knew all about it; then he would try to produce rain. 791 [787]

Rock Jones is a weather shaman; Sinyella does not know whether he has a spirit. When it has not rained for a long while, he will try to make rain and sometimes succeeds. Sinyella said, "I know that once he made it snow on the plateau; I saw the snow." He sings and rattles throughout the night for four nights to get results. The same informant stated that the singing did not take place in a sweatlodge; yet, on another occasion he explained that the flood of August, 1918 was due to Rock Jones' singing while they were bathing in the sweatlodge. At the moment these two were alone. Rock Jones began to sing about great 791 789

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Prehistoric stone ruins are said to have been built by the mythical beings long ago. The Havasupai do not dig in them as a rule, because they are afraid—the men-animals who built them are dead. Potsherds may be handled, but not used; stone implements, however, may be used as tools and protectors against bad luck. 172 778

Comparative Notes

The religious life of the Havasupai is relatively meager in comparison with the Pueblos, in which respect they are one with the Basin tribes. In fact the resemblance is very close with both the Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in the relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism. Visions do not figure. Only in the slight use of prayer plumes and prayers for rain and fertility for their crops do they resemble the typical Southwestern peoples. 171 756 [787] [782]

Killing an unsuccessful shaman as a matter of course is a practice typical of the lower Colorado tribes. By this I mean something more definite than the universal threats against malpractice and supposed evil intentions. This trait is shared by the Pima, Yuma, Mohave, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Mono, and Shasta.[1] The Western Apache and the Southern Ute[2] seemingly resemble the Havasupai in that there may be retribution for the loss of a patient, but it does not always follow. It is not always easy to judge from the accounts just how automatic this reaction is, but it is clearly a regular procedure of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima.

Gourd rattles are apparently limited to the Southwest, being unknown to most Californian and Basin tribes. I have found records of them among the Navaho, Hopi, Zuñi, (and they are probably used in other pueblos), Pima, Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, Koso, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño.[3] The last say it has been recently introduced from the Mohave through the Yuma. Doubtless further search in collections and the literature would augment this list. There seems to be some variation in the mounting and decoration of the gourd. The Pima, Yuma, Cahuilla, and Koso, like the Havasupai, mount it on a wooden handle: the Southern Diegueño do not. Navaho, Pima, Koso, Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Havasupai arrange the perforations 171 534

[1] Hrdlička, (f), 224; Trippel, 571; Russell, (d), 262; Kroeber, (a), 197; (b), 479; Bourke, (a), 174; Hooper, 339; Powers, 354, 380; Dixon, (b), 479.
[2] Bourke, (a), 466; Lowie, (i), 292, 294.
[3] Fraser, (b); Hough, (e), 293; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Russell, (d), 91, 168; Corbusier, 333; Trippel, 577; Kroeber, (g), 62; Spier, (e), 349.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 582 836 848 Havasupai families averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 [787] No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 746 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 827 753 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much. Should she hear a hawk (*ádjúdá*) cry, her child will have the hawk's spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Thought

So much nonsense has been written about savage thought that it may not be amiss to record that I find the Havasupai clearly the equals of my white acquaintances in reasoning.[1] Granting them their premises and the limitations of their knowledge, their judgments are justified. 153

The inability of the savage to isolate abstract concepts has also been asserted. As a somewhat indirect test I asked how one thinks[2] (*uwetdlgd*). Sinyella, who understood the interpreter's question with difficulty explained that he knew nothing about it: he had never been told. Jess to whom the question could be put directly,[3] said that his whole body was involved in thought, although his eyes, head, and to a lesser extent, his ears, were more intimately concerned. Two years later he stated:— 828

"I feel myself thinking. Perhaps part of my body thinks; I feel it move. Perhaps it is the tendons all over my body: no, they simply move. The blood in my veins goes into my brain and my heart: when it enters my brain I think what I am going to do. My thought goes on all over my body. It (both blood and thought) causes my whole body to move about. (Q.—You are thinking hard, trying to tell me; where do you feel it most?) In my head: it feels as though I were trying hard there." Sinyella added, "Most men say they think with their hearts: I say so too. Some say they think with their heads: they talk about who has the most brains." Jess' wife, who was listening, answered, "I think with my heart."

Like ourselves, Havasupai scratch their heads when in a quandary: *kdpdd'dtdtópigd*, "It is hard to say." [201]

The conventional expression is then that the heart is concerned with thought, as it is also the seat of the soul, the life. Jess' answer is however a reasonably good attempt at introspective analysis.[4]

Dreams

So much stress is laid on the connection of dreams with religious phenomena by some writers that it seems important to record dreams and the attitudes to them. Dreams (*tdsmddjigd*, *gwettdsmd'djigd*, cf. *smdgd*, sleep) were obtained from an old man, Sinyella, and a young one, Jess Checkapanyega. These are on their face actual dreams, not stereotyped like those of the Crow recorded by Lowie and the Ojibway visions of Radin. 114 115 124

A distinction is drawn between unimportant and significant dreams. While there are no definite criteria to distinguish them, it seems that those 787

[1] This is also the well-nigh unanimous judgment of my American colleagues respecting those Indians they know. Curiously enough, published statements of this fact are rare — is it too obvious? — leaving the field to the fulminations of the closet-philosopher.

[2] See also the remarks on shadows, p. 276.

[3] He has attended school.

[4] These statements modify those made earlier in this series, vol. XVI, 314, footnote.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

787 in which the dead, ghosts, or spirits figure are generally held significant. The real test seems to be the subsequent occurrence of an important happening, whereupon the appropriate dream is assigned as a forecast of the event. There is always the expectation that the dream may come true.

[777] Luck is acquired in dreams, according to Sinyella. A dreamer *may* acquire good clothes like those worn by a person in a dream, or edibles such as he had. Similarly, men and women dream of good dance partners and of lovers. If a man dreamed of a successful hunt, he would speak of it the morning following, saying that it was time for him to hunt. If he was successful within a short time, he said, "That is what I dreamed," and all would rejoice.

One man, the most prolific inventor of songs used in the dances, is said to have dreamed them, or rather, to have dreamed of having been in a far country. Whether he claimed to have heard the songs there is not clear. What he saw, as described in the songs (p. 264) may well have been dream experiences.

Sinyella stated that if a man had a nightmare, dreaming for example that he had been in a distant land where there were bad people, he would wake and sing about what he had dreamed. He says, "I do not want to dream this way. When darkness is here, I want you to make me dream pleasantly;" thus he talks to the dark, the night.

[756] Shamans acquire their powers in dreams. Little Jim saw his spirit in a dream before he used his powers; Rock Jones dreamed of lightning and rain and heard the song he now uses; Mark keeps his rattle by his side to sing of what he dreams when he wakes.

159 787 Jess said that he did not see himself as an actor in his dreams. He sees parts of his body in action and feels their relation to a central core, his personality, just as he does when awake. Sometimes he dreams that his head hurts as with a headache, and when he wakes he is really suffering with one. One morning he said that he had dreamed of many different people the previous night, a pretty bad dream. His sister's husband had been buried the day before and he had cried all day and part of the night for him. He woke with a dull headache and inert limbs. On another occasion he said he had heard someone groaning in a dream the night before. A lot of men around him said it was a ghost; they were afraid. Then he woke and heard a bull bellowing up the canyon. At times he dreams of riding a horse down a declivity. First he stands on the brink and looks down to where the trees are tiny; then his horse jumps down the cliff. He is frightened and wakes.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

He has occasionally dreamed of spotted fawns coming close by him, whistling. He saw the fresh tracks and followed them. He has been hunting after such a dream, but failed to see either tracks or fawns. He dreamed of seeing the heads of antelope showing above a barrier at a distance. Some were lying down and others standing about in the plain. He wondered how he could get close enough to kill them since there was no brush for cover. 159 787

I dreamed last night about lots of venison. I dreamed that my father shot many deer. He was living by himself in a cliff-dwelling on the northern side of the Buckskin Mountains; I know the place. I dreamed that he took Mr. B's boat, which he left tied in the Colorado River, and went across. A well-marked fresh trail led up the cliff to the cave. I saw that he had much meat and deer hides, the latter spread on the ground. The meat was piled in two or three places, a great quantity. We were both there when I heard someone coming. I looked up the trail which led down to the cave, and said, "Someone, a white man, is coming." He came down to see the deer meat. He said, "I will not say anything about that; if you have plenty of meat, it is all right. I know all you Havasupai; I will not say anything to the forest-ranger."[1] I know that man, Tom M. He said his wife would like to have some meat. So I gave it to him and he went home. (Tom's wife has left him. I asked him why and he said he did not know. What happened? I do not know. She always said she wanted to leave; she was always angry. She went to F — — to get a divorce. She left their son with Tom, who is a cattleman.)

Sinyella gave the following account of his dreams:—

When I was a young man, I dreamed I had plenty of horses, cattle, and sheep. I dreamed that repeatedly for a long time. Then I thought, "Maybe I am going to have those animals some time." Now that I am old, I have them; many horses, cattle, and I had some sheep too. I butchered the sheep as fast as I got them. That is what I dream for; sometimes the dream tells us right.

Once I dreamed that I went to Oraibi and wanted to buy blankets. As I dreamed I was positive that I was in Oraibi, but when I woke I was right here in my own house. Sometimes I dream that I am in the Walapai country trading, but when I wake I am still at home.

I dreamed last night about women. We have no women in my camp.[2] I dreamed that a woman came right to me, and I asked, "Do you like me?" She said, "Yes, I like you." Then I drew her by the arm into my bed and she let me have my will of her. I felt positive I was doing this and when I woke I felt pretty bad. I have also dreamed of nearly having my will of a nice girl, but I woke. When I tried to resume the dream, I failed.

I used to dream that I was mounted and chasing a deer, antelope, or mountain sheep. Sometimes a short time after my dream I actually chased and killed them. Then I knew that is why I had dreamed.

Long ago when there were wars I dreamed that I heard the enemy coming, shouting, and patting their mouths.

---

[1] Hunting is forbidden.
[2] This was a recurring theme of his conversation.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

● 787 159 Sometimes I dream that someone dies and they are taking his body away. The dream tells me right, because after a little someone does die in this way; that is why I dream of it. Sometimes, however, it is all right; it does not turn out that way.

Sometimes I dream of seeing another tribe. I am quite certain of it. Other times I dream of hunting and killing deer. Then I hunt and get two or three in the same manner. At other times I dream, but I fail to get any. I dream of working in the fields, hoeing weeds, or planting; then when I am working there, I do just as I dreamed. Sometimes I dream the corn will grow tall, and at other times, will not grow at all: it eventuates that way. I have dreamed that I was hunting and got some deer, but when I tried next morning I failed. I dreamed falsely: one does not have to dream the truth.

The night before last I dreamed about cattle and horses. I saw that I had many cattle. They were walking about at a little distance. One big bull, with long horns, came close to me and stopped. I went to him and stood by his side, rubbing my hand along his back. The bull stood with his head aslant, hooking with his horns. I was afraid of being hurt. While I was looking, I turned. I saw I had many horses just a little beyond the cattle. I saw that all were sorrel horses. They were quite small ponies. My horses, those I really have, are about that size.

I dreamed last night that I was baking in a Dutch oven. Although it had not been cooking long enough to bake properly when I looked in, it was all burnt.

I dreamed about a hunting charm (shaped like a marble.) I took it from my pocket and scraped the top a little with my knife. I continued scraping until finally it broke in two. I tried to tie it around to hold it together, but it kept bulging between the bands, so that it was impossible.

Sometimes, at long intervals, I dream that a ghost comes into my house and lays his hands on me. He scares me and I say, "Something bad, you must not touch me. I do not want you to touch me; take your hands off." But the ghost keeps his hands on me and holds me tight and wants to do something to me, so I yell hoping that someone will hear and the ghost will leave. So I groan. Everybody dreams this way.

Sometimes I dream that I see and talk to my dead parents. I dream that I am living at their house. I also dream of the good horses I had long ago and which are now dead. I dream that I ride them again. I dream that I see the old men who used to be my good friends here; I dream that we are working together again. When I wake at dawn, I find I am not dead, I am still alive, and I want to sleep again, but peacefully. I say to the dead, "I am not dead: I only saw you dead people. I am still alive. I want to sleep well so I can get up in the morning refreshed. It is bad to dream of the dead; I do not want to dream of them; so go away." And then I blow into my hands and brush them down my face and body. So I brush the dream away into the night.

158 Cases of somnambulism are known. Such individuals are deemed crazy (*sdpdvimdg*, also inebriated). Some men talk in their sleep, occasionally in English.

158 787 159 Crook often talks in his sleep, shouting, and carrying things about. He was camping with his father. A coyote was barking in the woods. Crook got up in his sleep, ran out a little way, and cried, "What is that calling out there?" Once Crook and I [Jess] were at Rowe's Well, when he dreamed that he was fighting someone. I heard him get up, punch the tent, and scatter his bedding, repeating, "I am going to

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stopped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing.

Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweatlodge. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth; a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi.

The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breechcloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter.

756 man, a good mixer, jolly, with none of the defensive reserve and ostentation of the ordinary shaman. Rock Jones was a stolid, good-natured man. Both he and Bob occasionally rode up to the school for a social visit.

These two had a common distinction: each claimed that a dying shaman, a blood relative, had instructed him in the art of healing and had bequeathed to him his own shamanistic spirit, his songs, gourd rattles and the other paraphernalia he himself had used in his practice. This was the easiest and quickest way by which a man could acquire the knowledge and skill a medicine man must have. Otherwise, he must seek one of the animal spirits created by the mythic people of the Long Ago who had hidden it away in a world reached only through dreams. This took time and the result was uncertain, for if the spirit refused to enter his body, his ambition was never realized.

756 781 If an aspirant dreamed of hunting deer, it indicated his shamanistic spirit was the deer spirit; or his dream might be of a wolf, coyote or some other animal. The animal that came in his dream was the one whose spirit he must own if he were to become a healer. Night after night he concentrated on wooing this spirit, discouraged when it coyly approached only to vanish, but continuing his efforts until he had it safely within his body. Then it was his to command. He could dispatch it on missions to ferret out information of an occult nature, things human beings could not learn for themselves, or he could send it scurrying through the body of the sick to discover the cause of the illness. While on such missions, the spirit could be heard talking to the shaman; when it returned, you could see the shaman gulp it down and hear it talk or sing, telling him all that it had seen or heard.

Those who had not inherited a dying shaman's songs must dream their own. First, a rattle was made by removing the pulp from a gourd, inserting pebbles, and attaching a wooden handle that would withstand vigorous use. This was placed within easy reach while the man slept. When a thread of song ran through his dreams, he roused quickly, seized his gourd and, rattling an

Spicer Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

accompaniment, sang the song over and over until he had memorized it.

A'mal must have qualified as a medicine man through the medium of dreams, which demanded the deep concentration that had given him such assurance and authority. In the past he never doubted his supernatural power, and his success had been phenomenal. Bob and Rock Jones took their practice less seriously. In fact, Bob often laughed at the suggestion that he possessed unnatural skill in healing. Bob's and Rock Jones's indifference probably was due to old Chief Navaho whose brutal acts had caused the shamans to doubt their own skill.

As was their custom, the Indians who were relatives or close friends visited Jasper, studied him for symptoms they had learned to recognize, and then pronounced their verdict—death! So when Manakadja asked A'mal to treat his sick boy, A'mal went through his ritual for a few nights, then refused to make further visits. The chief appealed to Bob, but he, like A'mal, was reluctant to put his skill to the test, especially since the Indians had predicted death for the boy. Bob was in a tight spot. He did not want to offend the head chief by refusing, neither did he want to comply since he was aware of the fate of healers who, too often, failed. So he asked me to give him the white man's medicine for Jasper. I was puzzled, not knowing what medicine to give him until I remembered that Jasper had a hard, dry cough. Believing it would relieve the boy, I gave Bob a small bottle of cough sirup. He accepted it gravely, carried it out to our gate, and leaning against a post, took a long draft of the sweet sirup. He replaced the cork, mounted his horse and rode away. That was the usual fate of our cough medicine. It seldom reached the patient, unless we took it to him.

Several days later the chief himself came, insisting on medicine supplied by the United States Government. He wanted to see me pour it from a bottle on the shelf. I gave him cough sirup. He held the bottle up to the light, peered through the sparkling red

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

years old, there occurred a phenomenon that terrified the Paiutes, an eclipse of the sun. The Indians interpreted the eclipse as an attack by some ferocious monster on their god, the Sun. The darkened sun was a dying sun; fear plunged the tribe into wild demonstrations, shouting, the firing of guns, any act that would frighten the monster and force him to abandon his wicked purpose.

During this eclipse, Wovoka became unconscious—he is said to have been ill at the time—and was lifted up to the Other World. Here in a place of celestial beauty he saw all those who had died, happy and ageless in their faraway home. While here he was taught a dance which must be performed at stated intervals for five consecutive days. Wovoka returned to earth, recited his experiences among the dead and taught his people the dance, which became known as the Ghost Dance. He instilled in their minds the belief that by performing these dances as instructed, they would bring their dead back to dwell with the living in eternal happiness on a regenerated earth. This seems to have been an effort on his part to incorporate into his native religion the creed of the resurrection as he imperfectly understood it.

Disciples introduced the tenets of this strange religion to other tribes where the ritual of this cult, like that of the peyote, was made to conform to the will of the cult's tribal leader. In their determination to recall the dead, emotions ran high. In some tribes, men, women and children danced wildly, waving their arms, contorting their bodies, until emotional and physical exhaustion caused them to drop unconscious to the ground. While in this state they, too, entered the land of unearthly beauty and peace where they talked to dead friends and relatives.

In other tribes, the center pole held the "power" to transport a worshiper to the Other World. The Havasupai tied eagle feathers at its tip. To induce the trance, a man climbed to within reach of the feathers where he clung until he became unconscious and fell to the ground. When revived by the medicine man, the pole-climber was expected to relate what he had seen and heard in that far-off land.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

—the whites—might claim the Havasu Canyon for themselves. 796 537

Thus he exhorted time after time, and, after each sermon, sang out, line for line, a new song that he desired them to learn. At first he alone sang, then Navaho and a few of the older ones took up the strain, and soon all joined in. Then the dance began, and continued with unabated zeal and fervor until the "missioner" gave the signal for rest. Then, after another harangue, another song was learned, another dance performed, and so on, *ad libitum*. [533]

The state of mental exaltation or frenzy, not unlike those peculiar manifestations of the negroes at revival meetings, the Shakers, "having the power," etc., is not uncommon among the Havasupais. At the Thapala Dance I have seen three women almost simultaneously suddenly dart from different parts of the dance circle, and hysterically shrieking, yelling, and singing, foaming at the mouth, tearing their hair, falling down with violence, and with appalling disregard to the injury to their own bodies dash against each other, or on the great central tree trunk, which stands like a flagpole in the centre of their dance corral, yield to this uncontrollable frenzy, and remain under its influence for an hour or more. During the whole time of their ecstasy, the dance continued uninterruptedly, except when one of the frenzied women dashed towards the dancers as if to escape the circle. Then the man nearest by rudely took her by the arms, body, or shoulders and thrust her, shrieking, back into the centre of the circle. 796 152 158

Yunosi gained her present name because of her occult powers and frenzied visions. After Hotouta's death she would occasionally wake up and cry out that she saw 787

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

787 the spirit of her husband, "Tom, heap big Supai chief." And, strange to say, in these exalted moments she invariably spoke in the crude English her husband had taught her and of which she was very proud. Pointing into vacant space, with glaring eyes and excited voice, she would declare that she saw "Big chief Tom. He come back to see me. O Tom! Tom! I see you." Then turning to her friends and others around, she would shriekingly ask, "You no see? You no see?" And thus she gained her name, Yunosi.

276 787 Thinking that perhaps the Havasupais used some herb, drug, or intoxicant, similar to opium, hasheesh, or the stramonium (jimson-weed) which the Navahoes use to produce similar frenzies and visions, I took some of this, which they call smal-a-ga-to-a, and asked several if they ever used it. In every case the answer was a sharp "No! Han-a-to-op-o-gi," and one Havasu informed me it was "very bad. All same white man's whiskey." Indeed, such has been the excellent teaching they have received from their ancients, and the tenacity with which they, as a people, have adhered to it, it may be safely affirmed that the Havasupais use [273] no noxious drug, or fermented or intoxicating liquor, and that they do not know any processes by which they can be made.

756 The ways of the Havasupai medicine-men are similar to those of fakirs in all lands and ages. I have seen Rock Jones, after examining a patient, jump up and excitedly exclaim: "I can see into your head and all through your brains; down your throat and into your stomach, through your kidneys, bladder, and intestines, and you are sick, very sick, very heap sick. But I am a good medicine-man. I can cure you sure, I can cure

776 Spier (p. 289) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the
177 sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former
apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the
●787 white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, o
of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine
men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of
them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long,
white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many
representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor
agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal
deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a
specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the
deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no
shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather
shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have
abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is
always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over
[844] the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop
rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasion
for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds,
and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably
sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more de-
tailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the pri-
mary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a
[755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly
to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to
cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for cer-
tain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness
which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who
would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness
caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as
well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone
after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do
not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans fre-
quently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai
[787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately
following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

Children of Divorced Parents

586 A divorced mother usually desires to keep her children with her. The fact that they nearly always reside with the mother may result from a child's dependence upon a woman for food preparation, clothing care, and other services which a father may be unable and a stepmother unwilling to perform.

A divorced woman usually returns to the home of her parents until she remarries. If she is employed elsewhere, she nominally belongs to the household of her parents until she remarries. A man who marries a divorced woman with children usually accepts the economic responsibility of father-
[587] hood. Divorced mothers tend to remarry, while divorced fathers less frequently remarry. During the period when a divorced mother is unattached, and especially if she has no permanent residence, her children may divide their time between the homes of their paternal and maternal grandparents. Occasionally, each grandmother may take one or more of the children on a somewhat more permanent basis. It is said that a child may choose his residence if he has a preference.

586 Among the divorced women living in 1950, only one had failed to remarry.
593 At her divorce, her three sons were adult or nearly grown. All of them remained with their mother, making it economically unnecessary for her to
[587] find a husband. In the dispute which led to divorce, serious conflict developed between the father and one son who interfered when he thought his father was abusing his mother. The father was arrested and sent to prison for shooting at his son, and upon the father's return two years later, he lived
[428] alone in another part of the village. While the father was alive, his former wife and his sons used most of his land, and upon his death they inherited all the land, one field going to his wife and the remainder being divided among the boys. The nature of this conflict and the father's term in prison probably served to establish residence of the sons with their mother. Moreover, pub-
[787] lic opinion supported this arrangement, for the father was given to various behaviors which made him most unpopular. (Interestingly, this man at one time reported seeing a spirit which counseled him to mend his ways)

586 In the 1950 population group, six other divorces had occurred among couples with children. Of these, only one father succeeded in keeping his children with him. He was an aggressive individual; said to be feared by his former wife. One cause leading to divorce was the father's opinion that his wife neglected their two daughters. The girls, who were very young at the time of the divorce, were cared for by their paternal grandmother until their father's remarriage. Because the paternal grandmother's hogan is located in the same camp area as that of her son and his family, she has actively participated in the rearing of the girls. Their stepmother, whose four babies all died in infancy, is said to have been a good mother to these girls. The younger, who may be somewhat below normal mentally, at 18 years of age went to live with her mother who has remarried and has a family of

843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses. "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear
[787] a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

843 Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for
262 one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paralysis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

843 Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a
263 baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. 764

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife; but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
[782] Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

715 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
[774] but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
756 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
[781] account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 278.

THE HUALAPAI

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [764]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 756 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 751 775 [754]

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [762]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [787] [781]

The rattle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

●787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[758] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the in-
[788] dividual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber. 763 825 843 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us, We don't want that." 763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him. 756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit. 756

The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body. 755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimní dem gen-wí va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai ij gen wí va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The 755 756 776 533

756
[755] woman lived in the west, the boy in the east. Each shaman had his own
[776] individual songs to attract his spirit. These were not given to a new
[533] shaman.

Another curing shaman received his power through a small bone that
756 had been given to him from a cave. He then had a dream in which the bone
● 787 talked to him and told him it would give him the power to become a shaman.
He kept the bone for two years, at which time a Walapai shaman took it a-
way on the pretense that it might otherwise be harmful to the Havasupai.
[533] However, the bone continued to appear in the Havasupai shaman's dreams
and taught him curing songs.

[15] The shaman who served as our informant had not been one during Spier's
day. He began about 1931 or 1932 when he started dreaming about it. These
dreams came to him not through his own desire, but because Pagiyova, a
localized mythical culture hero (Spier, 1928, 277) wanted it. This coin-
cided with a time when his mother was ill. During his dreams he didn't
see anyone, but heard an unidentifiable voice telling him what to do. Later,
after he no longer heard the voice, the spirit became visible. In a dream
the spirit took him through the air to Red Butte, south of Grand Canyon
village [where, incidentally, the informant was born]. He saw the spirit
in human form approaching, mounted on a white horse. The spirit dis-
mounted and shook hands, saying, "I am not a dead person, I am a man
just like you. Do you have any relatives who have died?" When the in-
formant replied in the negative, the spirit said, "A relative of yours died
and went northeast. Then he turned south and he is over at my place."
Our informant thought, "Maybe it's my brother," but he didn't tell the
spirit. The spirit then said, "There will be a new kind of sickness that will
come to everybody, white men and Indians. The sickness comes from the
[Sino-Japanese?] war they are having across the ocean. It will come to
the Indians first." When the spirit first shook hands he made "white lightning"
[533] enter the informant's upper left arm and this later aided his power. The
spirit then taught him to sing power songs and instructed him in shamanistic
ritual. He learned many curing songs and had to remember their meaning.
If he forgot, he would die. It took five or six years for him to become com-
petent. [I was unable to ascertain whether or not the informant had past
contacts with Navajo singers, who traditionally rode white horses.]

After he had become a shaman he visited the eastern spirit being
often, and thought he had been adopted by it. The spirit had made four
hands [method unknown]. Only the first of these hands, a right one, was
benevolent; the other three were left and were harmful. Sick people were
[755] "transported" [by this particular shaman] to the place in the east where the
hands were. If the patient chose the first hand to shake he would recover;
otherwise the illness would remain.

On one dream journey the spirit (on horseback) took our informant to one of the highest of the San Francisco Peaks. It was very steep and the spirit told him to walk around it, stepping carefully in footholes. Under the ground he could hear a strong wind humming as though it were far away. He put out his hand and patted down the top of the peak, saying, "I'm not here looking for trouble. I came here for a good reason. I came here for alot of drinking water." The wind decreased and our informant awakened, not knowing why he had uttered his words except that it was upon instruction from the spirit. 756 787

In his next dream he heard a voice and also believed he had shaken his gourd rattle. Then many short red pieces of lightning came out of the ground and lay motionless on its surface. The lightning said, "You have brought me out of the ground." Our informant reported that the lightning did something to him, that he arose in the air carrying his rattle and went to the north side of Bill Williams Mountain. There he saw two tall slabs of sandstone so high they reached far into the sky. He stood on top of one of these and heard a voice from the southwest saying, "I know you are a medicine man. I don't know what kind. You try every trick. You go around to all the places. I am going to test you." The shaman put out his left arm, where his power was, and made a slanted rock with dirt underneath from where he was standing to the ground. He walked along this until he came to a place that had high, red rock walls in a V shape. Then he said, "It has been hard for me going around. You want to test me. I want to see you go my way and follow where I have walked on this rock." The voice did not respond and the shaman thought it was unable to follow him.

Then he walked in the direction from which the voice had come and he arrived at a village that contained a long, straight row of "cabins." In each were two women. Another shaman, recognizable to our informant, appeared and preceded him into one of the houses. There he sat between the two women and put his arms around them. Our informant was angry and said, "I don't know what kind of man you are. I'm not going after ladies. I'm looking for a powerful spirit." Whereupon he left and traveled easterly until he came to two rock walls parted like a V with a plateau on top. He saw "a smoke of clouds" on the plateau. From this smoke there issued various strange types of birds all in a line. This smoke tried to bring about illness and had power like a spirit. A voice from the smoke said that the shaman had persevered and would be able to cure sickness. The shaman awakened at this point, but continued to repeat this dream in his curing songs.

756
● 787 Other spirit helpers came to him in other dreams. For example, one night our informant dreamed of a bird that said, "All my cousins, I don't know which direction they have gone to." Before the shaman realized what was happening, he felt himself flying to the south until he finally came to earth near Rose Well [within the eastern range of the Walapai]. He stood on top of a big hill but could not see the bird. Shortly he saw a man standing in front of him but facing east. From the right side of the man's body white lightning "about the size of a stovepipe" shot toward the sun. The man said, "This is the lightning--powerful medicine--that cures any illness." Then he showed our informant where the bird, which he owned, lived, and said, "When you sing, you must call the names of the bird, its nest, the cottonwood tree and everything I show you." They then traveled north a short distance to a place where ice was like a mirror. The man told the shaman that the ice, "like a window that looks many directions," would aid him in diagnosing a patient's illness. At this point the shaman awakened. Later he sang of this man as "the man who is standing up alive." In his dream the man had not revealed any other name.

On still another occasion the shaman dreamed that he heard a voice calling plainly and repeatedly, "Come here. Let's fight each other." This was a voice from the north, which told the shaman, "I'll return four times and that will be the end of my life." At first the shaman didn't answer, but finally replied, "My lives are eight." He heard the voice no more, but found himself in the air traveling north. He landed where there were many people speaking different languages [different pitches?]. Some had squeaky voices like bats[?] and others imitated various birds. One bird told him to go to Rain Tank [a few miles south of Grand Canyon village]. When he arrivered there in his dream, he followed two tracks leading east. Soon he came to two tall blue rocks. He climbed the south one and, half way up, found some barely visible pictographs that appeared old. He blew on them four times until the pictures became clear. They depicted many kinds of animals and some humans. The shaman proceeded to the top of the rock where one of his spirits told him to look at some plants growing on the ground below. The spirit told him that formerly the plants were edible. Then the shaman was transported through the air northeasterly toward Cameron [a trading post on the western Navajo Reservation where U.S. Highway 89 crosses the Little Colorado River; near the northeastern edge of Havasupai territory]. Near there he saw many people coming from underground, and also talking an unintelligible language. This time there were more people than he had seen in the north. The shaman waited until they were all on the surface. They spoke (but the informant couldn't explain his sudden understanding), and told him, "Over by the San Francisco Peaks there is something to fight sickness, to drive it away and conquer it." This proved to be small red rocks, about a foot long, and cylindrical "like a

baby bottle"[volcanic bombs?]. The shaman gathered these and tied them in cloth. Then the people advised him to take one more, a smooth opaque white one that could be rubbed on patients' chests to eliminate sickness. The shaman returned with his rocks to Rain Tank and told "sickness that he didn't want it to be going around". The ground around turned white as though it were snow covered. The shaman awakened but later reported that he had felt the dream had not been complete. 756 787

The first spirit he had seen mounted on the white horse continued to come in dreams, teaching him new songs until he knew about twenty, each for a different illness. Errors in singing them would harm the patient. However, if the shaman realized his error he could correct it by beginning the song again. These songs followed a definite sequence, outlining the case history of the patient. The number of songs also increased in direct proportion to the severity of the illness. For one patient, our informant sang six songs and repeated them seven times on each of four nights. Patients were sung over for four nights if the illness was severe or if the spirit of a deceased shaman was suspected of attempting to exert counter-influence to the cure. In the example under consideration, the spirit of Rock Jones, a relative, was under such suspicion. 756 787 533 755

The first night the shaman was not able to diagnose the illness. Even though he sang all night he made no attempt to contact his spirit until the second evening. If a shaman wished to communicate with his spirit he did so only at the end of the night's singing. He put his own spirit, plus that of a female, in the patient. The female spirit, one of the sky people[see p. 2], never dies and is thought to remain inside the patient so long as the shaman desires. In this instance the female spirit was invoked because the patient was a woman. If a woman wished to die the female spirit stayed with her a long time. Under other circumstances the shaman would invoke only his own spirit, which would remain inside the patient only until the conclusion of the treatment. Sometimes it would be inserted from the shaman's mouth, at other times from the head or arm. Our informant used both techniques, placing his hand on top of the patient's head and telling the spirit to enter, as well as blowing and sucking on the patient's throat. Additional sucking could be accomplished on the afflicted part of the body. 756 756 787

Various illnesses assumed specific form and color as they became apparent to the practitioner. These would first take on false, undiagnostic shapes in an attempt to trick the shaman, and were thought not to reveal their true form until the last song. For example, pneumonia was round, smokegray, and mixed with blood. Flu was round but blue and silver. It is worth recording, as an acculturational note, that less serious illnesses were reported to appear to the shaman in the form and color of playing 753 755 822

It was considered improper for shamans to request payment for their services although relatives of the patient usually proferred gifts within a month of the treatment. Tanned buckskin, Navajo blankets, or food were typical gifts. It would appear from our data that the shaman considered this an act of good will rather than specific payment for his "professional services." 756

Weather shamans had less power; usually they did not acquire a spirit. Spier (1928, 281) noted that they "obtained power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms." Rock Jones dreamed of clouds that talked to him. He could see the clouds but could not feel them. He could call them to come near, but only if he was alone. Later, when he became a curer, the same clouds helped him to cure spider and snake bites. Weather shamans did not dance for rain. They sang alone, sometimes before an audience. 756 789 [787]

Before Rock Jones died he didn't leave his cloud power to anyone. The Havasupai have not had a weather shaman since, although our shaman informant believed the power could still come to one of Jones' descendants. Another informant, however, referred to Rock Jones as a malevolent person who had witched and killed many people. Upon his death, his power was consigned to the Yavapai, enemy people, so that it could never return to harm anyone.

Game shamans also were known to the Havasupai. Before extended hunting forays, the shaman would sing special songs calculated to quiet deer and prevent them from running when hunters approached. These were sung at night and repeated four times. Content involved not only information about the habits of the animal, but also that the hunters were sorry for killing the game they needed to assuage their hunger. Locations the hunters intended to visit were also mentioned. Successful hunters frequently prayed to the sun to shine brightly so the deer could be seen. The sun was thought to "own" the animals. 756 224

Game shamans could lure only certain species. Čik pániga, one of three remembered by our informants, was thought to have power over deer and mountain sheep, but not antelope. (Interestingly, while antelope abounded in the upland regions of Havasupai territory, they were hunted only in time of dwindling food supplies. There existed a belief that if antelope hair got on the meat it would bring stomach cramps to the eater.) None of these men were curers. They gained their power through dreaming of specific animals and were not instructed by other shamans. Following a successful hunt, the game shaman usually was given a hind quarter or a section of the ribs, but this was not mandatory. [262] [825] [753] [787]

756 Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating
755 spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be
533 effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred
[753] to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

786 Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes,
533 scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled,
[752] were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756 Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our
787 shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from
[177] the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened.

Concepts of Disease and Illness

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers.

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing.

The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady.

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another shaman was called upon to effect a cure,